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Petticoat Pioneers: Athletic Advances for Women in Victorian and Edwardian New Zealand

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PETTICOAT PIONEERS

ATHLETIC ADVANCES FOR WOMEN IN VICTORIAN AND EDWARDIAN NEW ZEALAND.

Scott A.G.M. Crawford, George Mason University.

ABSTRACT

Women in colonial New Zealand did not have the variety of recreational options available in the "motherland" (Great Britain). Nevertheless, there was a social climate of acceptance if not for the female athlete then certainly for the woman eager to enjoy the fun and freedom of recreational activities. In New Zealand the social class divisions of England were not replicated to the same degree. Moreover, New Zealand sport never became a "self-indulgent festival of masculinity". Recent studies of the sub-culture of mountain climbing and the development of women's team sports support the view that New Zealand women were petticoat pioneers , and that their athletic advances were part of a gradual movement within society for women's rights. While basic methodologies such as oral history and primary investigation of "popular magazines" are discussed, attention is drawn to the rich potential of documentary archival material in radio, photography and early film.

A paper presented at a history research consortium of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance Annual Convention on Friday 17 April 1987 in Las Vegas, Nevada.

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Introduction

Many observers of life in New Zealand have commented on the considerable place which sport fills in the public consciousness throughout all classes of society. In New Zealand's short history, New Zealanders, have thought of themselves as belonging to a great sporting nation and a country devoted to sport, and these images have been important foundations for the development of national identity. Despite this, few scholars have attempted to study sport and even in general histories of nineteenth century New Zealand society little mention is made of either sport or recreation. Clearly then to explore the notion of recreation and sport as potential avenues for achieving an emancipation of sorts, for women in colonial New Zealand, suffers from several weaknesses. There was no "national history of sport" to use as a starting off point and archival primary source documents with an athletic

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flavour, such as records of Caledonian Societies, early rugby clubs and voluntary associations were, at least in their executive memberships, exclusively male.

A theoretical model (see Table 1) is currently being used to examine recreation and sport in Colonial New Zealand. The conclusions are that although New Zealand was exposed to the transplantation of British recreation and sport, the assimilation of this "cultural baggage" was shaped by the cultural values of the pioneer settlement. By the 1860s, the increasing levels of discretionary time and income created an expanding recreational consumer base which supported numerous projects in commercialised leisure. Recreational and sporting bureaucratic organisations while modelled along British lines, reflected more of a frontier style society. They were not dominated by the upper class and they drew support from all sectors of the community. Sporting success forged a national pride and placed athletics, not art, as the most valued form of cultural achievement. The "muscular christianity" ethos influenced the leading schools, but the result was an emphasis on games playing, rather than an embrace of a philosophy of moral education and character training. The amateur ethos, while resistant to pressure, especially in the sphere of rugby, had an openness reflecting the egalitarian composition of much of society. New forms of technology affected society and shaped sport in terms of instrumentalisation and rationalisation. Increasingly, values were attached to achievement and high performance, and nowhere was this displayed with more assurance and excellence than on the rugby field. Within the scope of this essay the hypothesis is that British forms of recreation and sport were introduced

TABLE 1

THE CHANGING SHAPE OF RECREATION AND SPORT VALUES

1830-1860

Culture of

Pre-Industrial Leisure

Traditional elites (nobility and landed gentry) oriented to leisure field sports (riding, hunting, fishing) in context of gentlemanly lifestyle.

Masses oriented to festive physical recreation. Emphasis on sociability and the challenge of specific here and now "contest" situations.

Ideal-Type Colony (e.g., Canada, Australia, New Zealand)

The dominant sport culture - the Victorian amateur and gentlemanly values. Existing alongside this sport culture are recreational orientations more typical of rural and "outback" areas. The culture of festive occasions

Upper class culture - Victorian legacy of humanism, gentlemanliness, manliness. The development of the amateur ethos.

Upper class recreational and sporting values adopted by the wealthy.

Middle class, through the avenues industrial and commercial wealth, entering the reformed public schools in large numbers.

Areas of Examination for New Zealand 1860-1907

a. recreation and sport and how they equate with pioneering
b. increasing discretionary time and income
c. the commercialisation of leisure
d. bureaucratic recreational and sporting organisations and their reflection of a frontier society
e. sporting success as an indicator of regional/national identity.
f. the "muscular christianity" ethos and its influence on the leading schools
g. the amateur ethos and its resistance to pressure
h. recreation and sport as catalysts in the emancipation of women
i. imported industrial technology and how it began to affect society and shape sport in terms of instrumentalisation and rationalisation
j. the values attached to achievement and high performance

Adapted from, "The Changing Shape of Sport as a Macro Cultural System", K. Pearson and J. McKay (1982)

to Colonial New Zealand. However, the less severe divisions of social class and the relatively spontaneous tenor of community life provided some opportunites for certain women to gain a degree of emancipation. Nevertheless, the paucity of reference sources on the "invisible women" of the nineteenth century is a limiting factor. There were a lot of areas of activity where women were busy but which were not thought to be important, such as midwives. In the 1940 Dictionary of New Zealand Biography only about 2 percent of entries related to women.[1]

Pioneering Women

> Hail to Queen Victoria in all her regalia
> With one foot in Canada
> And the other in Australia

One fascinating collection of historical material is found, however, in the provincial museums of New Zealand. For the pioneering women settlers who migrated from Great Britain to New Zealand in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s the three month sea voyage provided an opportunity to compile diary accounts of sights, sounds, impressions, values and meanings. Jane Bannerman, a teenage cabin passenger on the "Philip Laing", describes how she always had "work". "I sewed all the time and read instructive books. We had our piano in the cabin, and many were the songs we sang".[2] She writes that her younger sister had rosy cheeks, loved to go running on the deck, was full of fun, and used to play, for hours with her dolls and picture books.[3] Sarah Low found healthful recreation by sitting out on the open deck.

> I have been on deck (for the sake of air when I have been ill), that always proving my best medicine, no matter what weather, with no other female creature, and there, wrapped in some half a dozen coats and cloaks and lashed

> firmly to the side,[4] seated on the ground, I have passed many hours...

Jane McGlashan writing on the "Rajah" in 1853 noted:

> The day has been spent very pleasantly on deck. We, with our friends ... form a sewing or knitting party while one reads aloud ... The elder Miss D. has been for several years on the Continent, and reads and speaks French fluently. We read French with her and have many conversations on manners and customs, persons and places abroad.[5]

In 1863 a Mrs Alexander described how there were "games on deck"[6] by the light of the moon and confessed her enthusiasm for "Scotch reels, country dances, quadrilles, polkas ...".[7] Helen Ritchie in 1868, as the "William Davie" crossed the equator, observed that "it is no easy work to dance reels in such warm weather".[8] Two weeks later with the vessel moving towards southerly latitudes a diary entry spoke of the necessity for some form of exercise and concluded, "The ladies have had a game of quoits today".[9] The emigrant "sailing" diaries are then a most valuable primary source for the analysis of women and pioneering society. For example, the diaries illustrate the fact that there were approved parameters of behaviours which determined the socially accepted "play opportunities" for both women and children, and the cathartic influence of recreation in a milieu that was essentially dominated by a male, utilitarian viewpoint.

A point to be emphasised, during the early years of settlement, is that in addition to episodic free time punctuating the working year, diversions of various sorts also seem to have penetrated or rather to have been a natural part of the work rhythm itself. Two sisters who settled in Otago as early as 1844 wrote in their diary of "amusements",

but in every case (gardening, fishing, boating and hunting) the activity was directly related to survival.[10]

For the rural-agricultural-pastoral inhabitant, although recreation was dominated by work, it was possible to make games of some chores. Many women combined domestic duties with extra touches of sewing, weaving, cooking and decorating that inserted a more creative element in their dawn-to-dusk work schedule. The fontier nature of colonial New Zealand life tended to avoid the rigid compartmentalisation of women's roles that dominated English middle class society in the nineteenth century. Catherine Squires described the fun and excitement of bareback horse riding (a most immodest activity for a genteel Englishwoman!) as she mustered cattle on a remote farm.[11]

As the process of industrialisation in the 1860s began to make some impact on New Zealand society new doors were opened for colonial women. For example, the arrival of small steam ships meant week-end recreation cruises took place from Dunedin and Wellington ports. This marks the first occasion that contemporary records indicate large numbers of women attending a formally organised recreational activity. "The ladies sat in rows on the seats surrounding the quarter deck, very prim and nice and careful not to crease their dresses".[12] Despite bouts of seasickness the women took a full part in enjoying the "cake and wine" and dancing with "energy which never flagged".[13]

The Sunday church service, the market day and the sports meeting were the main avenues for facilitating social exchanges. In 1864 for example, the cricket team from Kaitangata embarked on the "Tuapeka", called at Balclutha to collect the local team and then sailed up to Te Houka to

play a game on a privately owned paddock in the company of sheep and cattle. Such occasions were much more than sporting encounters. Batting scores, bowling figures and the result paled into insignificance beside the vital functions of communal relaxation and convivial interaction - "It was a real picnic, and the wives and children had a great time".[14]

The lifestyle adopted by any settler in New Zealand depended upon the time and place of his or her arrival, on income and occupation, and most unpredictably of all, upon the immigrant's readiness and capacity for adjustment. Adaptation of the imported heritage appears to have been most rapid and most thorough in every day matters. Dress and diet, housing styles and housekeeping methods, all soon reflected a distinctive colonial air. Attitudes and values were much slower to alter, the degree of adaptation depending upon the person's position in society. The higher up the social scale the less likely was significant change. Indeed the most remarkable single document on recreation and sport in nineteenth century New Zealand was a diary written by a Lady Barker on a South Canterbury sheepstation. While the animated accounts of days full of physical activity are authentic, the problem is that for Lady Barker and a handful of others like her, their attitude was that of being colonials. The colony was never regarded as home and their attitude "perpetuated a sentimentalized version of the British way of life".[15] In other words their interests did not reflect a wider social trend of female involvement in outdoor activities. That withstanding it is possible to argue that the scope of Lady Barker's physical pursuits and her enthusiastic embrace of recreational interests were the result of the attractive challenges of the New Zealand countryside. Although Lady

Barker only remained for a few years in New Zealand (the late 1860s and early 1870s) her accounts of spending a freezing night by a creek catching eels, riding for 45 miles in a day over the roughest imaginable country, or toboganning down a mountainside on an improvised sled, stand as a testament to a most unusual woman who was devoid of Victorian primness.

> ... one's nerves and courage are in very different order out in New Zealand to the low16standard which rules for ladies in England, who "live at home in ease!"[16]

In the 1860s and 1870s there are records of wives settled on isolated sheep stations who did not see another woman for months at a time. During the "gold rush" period respectable women stayed away from the pubs known as "sly-grog shanties". In the Otago goldfields there were over 700 establishments, one to every seventy-five inhabitants.[17] The number of females on the Tuapeka goldfield in July 1862 was 150 when the male population numbered 11,500.[18] Many of the goldminers focused their attention on these pubs and hotels and sought the company of resident barmaids or dancing girls.[19] Hotel proprietors and entertainment entrepreneurs were constantly finding that female employees were eagerly sought, often as wives. One publican, determined to retain a barmaid, advertised to his friends in Dunedin to send him the ugliest woman they could find. "Her single blessedness lasted two weeks."[20]

Fortunately, in 1871 an Act was passed prohibiting music and dancing in all public houses. The suppression of dance houses effectively reduced the number of bar girls being drawn into prostitution and virtually stopped the importation of a class of women designated dance-girls who were already convicted prostitutes.

Even by the late 1880s neither the bicycle nor the long swim suit and hat had appreciably altered a restrictive social attitude towards female participation in sport and recreation. This did not merely apply to New Zealand - a similar situation existed in Britain and America. In fact, New Zealand women escaped the hostility that saw Australian females ostracised by Victorian and Queensland swimming associations throughout the nineteenth century. However, the 1873 "Employment of Females Act" did give up the Saturday afternoon as a half-holiday to "working girls" and, at least, allowed them an opportunity to ramble and picnic. Some of the earliest photographs of women in Otago (outside of the myriad staged head shots of family groups) show them in just such a milieu.

> A number of them (the working girls) turned their half holiday to good account by getting as much fresh air as they could, some of them taking walks, and others going down to the Port.[21]

For female students at the Otago Girl's High School (opened in 1871), however, there were few opportunities for athletic endeavours. The original core curriculum set health and physical training as complementary activities to English, French, Linear Drawing, Needlework and so on.[22] The girls were able to have drill classes in the Otago Boys' High School gymnasium, but Victorian morality decreed that a walled pathway be constructed so that the girls could reach the exercise area "without the contamination of contact with, or sight of, the boys".[23] A retired army sergeant spent much of the time parading the girls in army-style marching manoeuvres and even the gym uniforms and knickerbockers had military braiding. While club exercises and apparatus work - climbing, swinging and vaulting - were also taught, Principal Burn found, in 1879, that less than twenty percent of the girls were taking physical

training as they found it dull, repetitive and the uniform an abomination.[24]

From the founding of the Dunedin Teachers' College in 1876 (originally housed in the Otago Normal School), military drill was taught to all student teachers. Moreover, Principal Frederick wanted the construction of a gymnasium and the services of a qualified gymnast, and in 1879 passed regulations preventing female trainee graduates from instructing drill in schools unless they themselves were of a satisfactory level of physical fitness.[25]

In pre-industrial England it has been claimed that single women held key positions in the work force-managing convents and large estates, and running inns, shops and small businesses.[26] But, by the middle of the nineteenth century, Victorian social ideology had defined unmarried women as "superfluous" and "redundant" and Victorian society had condemned spinsters to marginal positions in the home, church and workplace. The desperate shortage of raw labour, however, in pioneering New Zealand, combined with the meagre population base and a community rather than class consciousness saw the legitimisation of women engaged in physical activity. Jobs had to be done, vegetable gardens had to be dug, sheep were to be mustered and a primitive landscape had to be farmed. Rural and agricultural settlements witnessed men and women, boys and girls buckling to as co-workers. In the literature that has been written about women during the "pioneer" period words such as "strength", "courage" and "determination" appear regularly. Within Victorian England notions of feminity would not normally have included the characteristics of "strength", "courage" and "determination".

An Emancipation of Sorts

The 1880s in New Zealand witnessed the growing demand for the right of women and girls to unrestricted physical development and the beginnings of female Participation in institutionalised forms of recreation. Certainly, sport and recreation were made incredibly difficult for women because of the long, bulky and restrictive nature of their clothes, and "the attitude of a society where even an ankle could not be displayed in public".27 While women in the rural communities of Otago had always been able to enjoy horse-riding, dressed informally in work clothes, social custom demanded that attendance at hunt club meetings meant "decent" attire.

> Ladies rode side-saddle and habits were shaped to allow for the protruding knee. Under the skirts they wore drawers of suede or other strong material. Jackets were usually tight-fitting and cravats, gloves, boots and hats completed the outfit.

Daring young ladies did flout convention and risked the censure of society by wearing bloomers for bicycling following the stand taken by Amelia Bloomer in the USA in 1849. In fact a feminist group in Christchurch in the 1890s campaigned to reject the corset and urged women to wear a type of culotte.29 The two leaders of this group, Miss K. Walker and Mr J. L. Wilkinson, advocated the divided skirt and baggy knickers and at their wedding saw to it that the bride and bridesmaids wore the knickerbocker "cycling" costume.[30]

Yet again the British influence was considerable. Once games were accepted as part of a girl's schooling in England during the 1870s, the social stigma was removed from participation in sport. Participation in cricket, athletics, curling, tennis and swimming was possible although

such involvement often went on in an atmosphere of "amused tolerance"[31] created by patronising males. Nevertheless, rigid Victorian thinking dictated that dress modes remained conservative.

> At first women were expected to cope with the physical activity in their usual heavy, concealing garments. In the seventies women played tennis in flannel quilted dresses, long of course, with an apron with a pocket to hold the balls, and a tweed cap of masculine appearance. In 1885 women still played in ankle-length skirts, teamed with high-necked blouses, belted waists and straw hats. At this time white stockings appeared for tennis.

The Carisbrook Lawn Tennis Club of Dunedin in the 1880s became the first major sports club that recruited a significant number of female participants. Of 150 members, there were sixty women. Indeed, the club went out of its way to attract lady members by means of a half a guinea annual subscription compared with a male's fee of one guinea. Nevertheless, in accordance with the prevailing societal attitude towards the role of women, it was made clear that "the afternoons of Monday and Tuesday are the days when the ladies take their share in the game".[33] The philosophy was affirmative to limited participation and negative to equal status.

Unquestionably the greatest opportunity for women, in seeking emancipation from their stereotyped roles, came with the advent of the safety bicycle in 1884.

Hyslop, in writing of Christchurch in the 1890s, recalls bands of fifty or more male and female cyclists off on a club run - "Ladies rode in bloomers and men in knickers".[34] The New Zealand Cyclist's Touring Club, founded in 1883, readily accepted female members and urged regional and urban clubs to actively recruit lady cyclists.[35] The bicycle gave

females an inexpensive form of mobility and, in terms of revolutionary dress, allowed them to achieve their own identity as women.

> The effect of the bicycle on women's clothing was truly revolutionary - within a period of two or three years the bicycle gave ... the liberty of dress which reformers have been seeking for generations.[36]

This rebellious attitude towards what was seen to be as appropriate dress for women was put to verse in an entry of New Zealand Wheelman:

> Come Dolly and Trix,
> Quick into your knicks.
> We'll off to the gorge and back ...
> The neighbours may say
> "How shocking!" but what care we?
> Our strong ripe joy, hath no alloy
> And the skirted may skirted be ...
> Are we not God's children all?
> And what father ever meant
> That only his son should enjoy the fun,
> While his daughter sat still content?[37]

Reeves claimed that the invention of the safety bicycle (1884) and the Dunlop pneumatic tyre (1888), did more to widen the daily lives of women "than any change yet worked in them by the possessing of political rights".[38] This is not to say that there was no entrenched opposition to this form of social innovation. The Woman's Rescue League of Washington, D.C., claimed that "cycling prevented married women from having children, that the new dress was shocking and indecent, and that the new familiarity and companionship with men led to immorality".39 As late as 1903 in New Zealand, Helen Wilson commented upon the bicycling expedition that she made with her sister.

> We made ourselves short, heavy serge skirts exactly alike and a navy and white blouse to be worn with a red tie and belt. We bought mushroom hats with red frills. The skirts were shockingly short; they came only just to the ankles, so of course it would be impossible to appear in civilised places, or even to stay with friends, without a change.[40]

The remarkable Mrs. Wilson went off on her three-week long North Island tour leaving her husband to look after their three young children. On returning home she was faced by a mother who was "shocked" by the "barbarism" of her mode of travel, and a husband who "didn't seem pleased with some of the details".[41]

Helen Wilson was representative of a small group of women who found recreational participation helpful in breaking down the prejudices that categorised women as servers and home providers. Her activity interests made her both a friend and a companion to her husband. She speaks of tennis and river swimming with him, and gives a marvellous account of a duck shoot where she shot the birds, he stripped off and dived into the river to recover them while their young child wandered off to be rescued from "twelve great Hereford bullocks".[42] In 1896 she remarked that "football became a fashion" and that she relished the joys of being "a football fan" and the "glories of a win".[43] It has been noted that female interest in athletics was not considerable at Otago Girls' High School at the end of the 1870s. However, in 1885 Mr Alexander Wilson became Headmaster and in a talk to the Otago Education Institute he described the values of "body training" through the avenue of gymnastics.[44]

Wilson played fives, against female students with "skill and cunning" and created a much more positive attitude towards physical activities. His encouragement of sporting activity can be best guaged by the account of his first prize giving in 1885, when two prizes were awarded for tennis, six for fives, and seven for gymnastics.[45]

From 1880 onwards there was the emergence of "a progressive spirit among some women"46 in recreational matters, although there were rigid lines of demarcation preventing women from achieving athletic parity. For example, in 1891 when Miss Nita Webbe attempted to become the promoter and manageress of a women's rugby team to tour New Zealand the public roar of outrage was such that the project was scrapped.[47] For many women in colonial New Zealand recreational forms were more cerebral than athletic. The private scrapbook of Mrs Janet McLaren compiled from 1884-1887, had 110 pages with 375 press clippings. Of these clippings eighty-six were poems cut out from Otago newspapers followed by English based long newspaper essays on European history. McLaren idolised Queen Victoria and General Gordon and, for her, "recreation" was reading the newspapers, learning poems and writing her own verse and putting together, with loving care, a beautifully bound scrapbook.[48]

The puritan ethic and the Christian concept of the family had a strong impact on the expected role of women. Morality at home would stem from women who had found their true vocation as "wives, mothers, homemakers, nation builders and moral arbiters".[49]

While references to women as participants in New Zealand sport and recreation during the period 1848-1907, are limited, it seems clear that the subsequent years, 1907-1920, would yield a rich body of information on the expansion, in New Zealand, of female involvement in physical activity.

> Sport, for so long an outpost of male chauvinism, a symbol of masculinity, was by the 1880s beginning to be infiltrated by the Englishwoman who was gradually freeing herself from the bounds of the Victorian drawing room. The sports and past-times which these women adopted were,

in line with the colonial process, transported to New Zealand to take firm root.[50]

The seventies in England witnessed the high point in Victorian ornamentation whether reflected in house embellishment or exuberant costume design. Elaborate flounces, aprons, looped up skirts and tunics were at the height of fashion. Sport, it is argued, became increasingly popular among women and did much to rationalise dress. Nevertheless the bathing dresses and tennis frocks of the last decade in the nineteenth century only allowed a moderate degree of freedom in movement. Swimming dresses were made of seven yards of twilled flannel with long sleeves and a high neck. The aim was to cover not reveal.[51] The standard tennis outfit of a long quilted, blue flannel dress rounded off with a tweed cap emphasised good taste and style rather than being an open sesame to uninhibited movement over a grass playing surface.

The woman of the time was piled high with impedimenta. Costume designers and outfitters used then a language and terminology that is now redundant. It was the day of the Dolman, the mantle, the ulster; of jet, ribbon, and Passementerie trimming. Within New Zealand many women displayed a pronounced ambivalence towards the introduction and acceptence of imported fashion. On the one hand they did not want to display a colonial provincialism and unsophisticated parochialism. Indeed in some communities (the "gentry" of Canterbury?) it may be the case that they sought to outdo the most fashionably dressed ladies of Regent's Park, London! However, a major hypothesis of this chapter, is that for New Zealand many women were working alongside their husbands, brothers and neighbours to break in the country. For these women they had plenty to do in a practical way. Members of societies attribute

certain characteristics to the individuals of the different sexes. Nevertheless the situation in Victorian New Zealand shaped a process of gender socialization where certain women worked with men. The primary sources of information reinforce a picture of an absence of the feeling of antagonism, to the environment or to the opposite sex which characterised English society of the day.

The influence of the "Cult of True Womanhood"[52] should not be underestimated. The colony's Church of Scotland ministers, Church of England clergy and Methodist preachers reflected an American and British concern to see women as "revered and admired but locked into hoop skirts and home".[53] While such an ethos permeated the respectable suburbs of Christchurch and the social network of the Governor General's activities in the capital of Wellington, it had neither credibility nor relevance for the demands of life in the isolated townships, hamlets and sheep stations.

Conclusion

The short, loosely fitting gymnastic tunic worn by girl students at Otago High School in the 1880s, "personified the spirit of emancipation of women who were beginning to break free of some of the more restrictive elements of the Victorian code of behaviour and morality".[54] In a 1891 New Zealand magazine, a high school student confided to her father that the thing she wanted to do most was to go to an out of the way place and paddle about without shoes or stockings.[55] Nevertheless, despite women voting for the first time in 1893, the formation of the National Council of Women in 1896 and Emily Siedeberg graduating, in the same year, as the

country's first female physician, there were still barriers. For climber Freda de Faur, her physical challenges were compounded by the cherished conventions of the middle-aged who railed at her for being alone with a guide, as it would ruin her "reputation".[56] However, as her climbing reputation grew she was more free to do as she pleased without protest from the self-appointed guardians of private morals at the Hermitage Hotel. Miss de Faur would leave the Hermitage in a "proper skirt" but discarded it as soon as she was out of range of the tourists and would climb in a serge jacket, a knee-length skirt, knickerbockers, puttees and clinker boots.

Women like Freda de Faur were controversial figures because by their personality and physical vitality they ran counter to the "biomedical thought of the mid-nineteenth century which both reflected and encouraged women's passive role in society".[57] The theory of the "dictatorship of the ovaries" reasoned that the inherent fragility and weakness of the woman should see her being "prevented from doing anything that might cause damage to her delicate reproductive system".[58] Lady Barker and Freda de Faur although, by education and, social background, representatives of the upper class were <u>not</u> primarily involved in the "croquet, bowling, tennis, golf, and archery... of coeducational recreation, which were designed more for social contact than for competition".[59] They sought competitive challenges in the outdoors with, against <u>and</u> without men and, by example, became a part of an international move towards the acceptance of a new view, that is, exercise was indeed good for women.

Photographs of Miss de Faur show her as lithe and fit looking more in the 1980s notion of female attractiveness as an adjunct to an athletic shape. It should be remembered, with Victorian fashion that the woman was ethereal and emaciated, with a heightened bust to set off the ankle and the features of the face. For some women in pursuit of the hour-glass figure of a Lillie Langtry, fasting, whale bone corsets and surgical removal of the lower ribs were acceptable. This societal notion of the perfect body, then, played its part in steering women away from vigorous activities such as running. However, it should be emphasised that social pressure clearly discriminated against women. A Canadian observer, in 1890, while patronisingly declaring that women could swim, dance and ride affirmed that, as for running "nature most surely did not construct her".[60] Women did participate in bicycling, roller skating and tennis. On the tennis court or the open road there was a physical liberation of sorts. There is the impression that for the colonial girl a multiplicity of roles while not encouraged were accepted, albeit in an atmosphere of patronising good humour. A fascinating photographic profile of a "Maid of Maoriland", published in 1901, epitomises this glimpse of the greater freedom that seems to have been afforded the young female in New Zealand. The eight snapshots show a woman in her early twenties in a series of different poses - milking a cow; riding a horse; cooking; washing clothes; arranging flowers; playing tennis; painting (or sketching) in the outdoors; getting into a canoe; standing with a bicycle. The captions took the form of verses of a poem:

> What is there that she cannot do,
> The sweet New Zealand girl?
> She's milk maid, cook, and groom in one ...
> And after dinner, on the lawn
> She'll beat you four to love.
> What charming metamorphoses,
> This girl goes daily through -
> From washing tub to bicycle,
> From easel to canoe.[61]

With such a regime of life-style interests and occupations it is no wonder that firms targeted their advertising towards women such as the "Maid of Maoriland" or Helen Wilson. In 1907 a Fry's cocoa slogan stated that, "The Outdoor Girl, the Athletic Girl, aye, every Girl who aspires to a healthy vigorous body should drink...."[62]

From the beginnings of organised sports competitions early in the nineteenth century, sport has determined that men behave in one way and women another. Sports fields, and in New Zealand society even more so the sports clubs, were an influential adjunct to the workplace and home in the ascription and acceptance of male-female relations. In late nineteenth century New Zealand, as elsewhere, women were kept from involvement in all leisure which did not serve their basic functions of motherhood and providing the basis for stable families. Marriage in New Zealand was the main occupation of women. However, the colonial environment opened new doors. The census of 1874 showed 245 women running medium to large sized farms.[63] There was:

> ... a feeling of usefulness and a greater degree of independence than the women migrants had experienced before. To reach the same end in England they would have had to break out of the shell of home and family and emerge into the world a rebel against position and role."[64]

Although New Zealand did not witness the emergence of a Florence Nightingale, a George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans), or Hariet Beecher Stowe

(all to a greater or lesser extent involved in the controversial interpretation of moral dilemmas) there were other landmarks to be set by colonial women. New Zealand female social reformers could not change the world but had the spiritual and physical resources to achieve voting parity. These women knew themselves to be "useful". They had nourished a pioneering settlement not by passivity, expressiveness and dependency but with a generous sprinkling of instrumental qualities.

In 1893 New Zealand became the first national state in the world to allow women to vote,[65] the result of the outcome of a feminist movement comparable to movements elsewhere in the world and, more effective in terms of legislative change. However, while women in the USA emerged as persuasive political levers via the abolitionist movement, in New Zealand women came to the fore because of learning how to organise themselves and adopting a new outlook on their basic rights in the sphere of temperance. Through the temperance movement there was "an apprenticeship in the art of political agitation".[66] This political concern for women's voting rights was not translated into a movement for equal representation in sport. Although the first national women's sports association was founded in 1908,[67] prior to 1914-1918 there was only one national championship event for women.[68] Nevertheless, this particular championship, for tennis, was founded as early as 1886 and the sport provided New Zealand with its first stellar female sportswoman. Miss K.M. Nunneley won the ladies national tennis title on thirteen consecutive occasions from 1895-1907. In colonial New Zealand almost exclusively within the umbrella of home, family and property, there were significant opportunities for a degree of recreational freedom unknown in

the motherland. Sporting associations on the other hand, following the conservative restrictions of male dominated athletic clubs throughout the British Empire, only allowed limited access to women in activities such as tennis, golf, bicycling and swimming, as well as rambling, tramping and curling. Yet again, the potential opportunities for women in colonial New Zealand has to be stressed. The founding of the Y.W.C.A. in 1878 meant it was the first organisation of this now very large international body to be formed in the southern hemisphere.[69] By the end of the 1880s over 300 members enjoyed lectures, craft activities and "every kind of sport".[70] Recreation and sports provided some opportunities for certain women to gain, if not a degree of emancipation, then an expansion in freedom, choice and physical pleasure within colonial New Zealand.[71] The spirit of independence fostered by a favourable employment market encouraged equality rather than servility in master/servant relationships. Even the best-treated servants would leave for a better place or to get married and be mistress of their own homes.

In the sixty odd years under study the nature of recreation and sport in New Zealand changed dramatically. For the early settlers recreational pursuits were few and far between with the effort of establishing a new home being of fundamental importance. It should be emphasised, however, that this process allowed men and women to work together as partners and combine physical resources to overcome challenges and realise long term objectives.[72] A surprising number of the expeditions into mountainous areas by Government survey workers saw wives, female friends of these wives and sisters accompanying the "work" party.[73] Leisure activities in pioneering society were spontaneous affairs in which everyone joined with

great enthusiasm and informality. As communities became more established there was more time, energy and opportunity to formalise recreational exchanges. Sport became a regular part of community life and was organised into a complex weave of institutions throughout the colony.

While rugby as a patriarchal institution dominated the social and cultural side of life and served as a singular "rite de passage", in the early 1900s women's sport also experienced a major breakthrough with field hockey growing from one club in 1897 to ten regional associations becoming affiliated to the newly formed New Zealand Women's Hockey Association in 1908. The feminine ideal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century carried with it the acceptance of a philosophy of legitimate and illegitimate activity. Gentleness not aggression, cooperation not competition and graceful movement not the vigorous play of muscles was the rubric. Legitimate activity within New Zealand included many of the genteel and leisured sports. Golf, tennis, swimming, recreational horseback riding, curling and skating were accepted in a single sex and mixed setting. What was unusual is that the contact-sport competition of women's field hockey was not considered inappropriate for women. It came to enjoy great popularity not only at the girls' schools but by World War I was the major female club/team sport in the rural villages of New Zealand. Field hockey and netball are in the 1980s the two leading women's sports and in the latter, world number one rankings by New Zealand, reflect a female commitment to tough competition. There is much evidence that the "cultural image of women rather than physical limitations ... have made women's participation in sport limited and unequal".[74] The New Zealand culture has always been

wholly accepting of sport per se and the level of structural discrimination in the twentieth century has never been such that it has blocked off feminine involvement or resulted in their unequal treatment. What is noteworthy today is the extent of gender role changes whereby several rugby administrators are women and women in increasingly large numbers are coaching boys and mens sports teams.

Women in colonial New Zealand did not have the variety of recreational options available in the "motherland".[75] Nevertheless, there was a social climate of acceptance if not for the athletic woman then certainly for the female eager to enjoy the fun and freedom of recreational activities.[76] Some oral history data of the early 1900s re-affirms a social ideology where many facets of sport and recreation were seen to be appropriate and legitimate for women. The following are three separate female interviews: "I was brought up in the country, on a farm. At school ... the girls used to play with the boys - they played football, and we played cricket with them"; "I guess I was a bit of a fitness fanatic! I played 'A' grade tennis.... I also played a little bit of golf. I loved rollerskating.... Every winter I would go skating...."; "At primary school there was hockey for the girls and rugby for the boys - there was lots of pleasure in sport. My parent's attitude was that they believed in us playing sport and enjoying ourselves. We were kept happy."[77] On the fringe of the British Empire sport and recreation may have opened fresh doors for females. A writer in a 1895 New Zealand bicycling magazine spoke of the "new woman". "A being of cool brain, warm heart, courage and strong muscle."[78]

NOTES

1. This paper is virtually a repeat version of a chapter entitled, "One's Nerves and Courage Are In Very Different Order Out in New Zealand": Recreational and Sporting Opportunities for Women in a Remote Colonial Setting. The chapter is in ,From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post Industrial Eras. Edited by Tony Mangan and Roberta Park. Publisher Frank Cass of London (1987).

2. To gain an unusal and fascinating treatment of women's opportunities for "liberation" in the middle of the twentieth century see E. Ebbett, When the boys were Away: New Zealand Women in World War II (Wellington, 1985). Since actual hostilities occurred well away from New Zealand the impact of the war on most women was second hand and probably greatest on young women, of an age to have husbands serving in the forces, or to join up themselves; to be man-powered or to tackle jobs hitherto reserved for men; to fall in love with American servicemen. Ebbett's book builds up a vivid picture of the bleakness, the irritations and inconveniences of the war period and the new employment opportunities it opened for women leading to a new spirit of independence. Future social historians must examine the extent to which these new opportunities occurred in the sporting and recreational domain.

3. Indications shows that many experiences of sportswomen in contemporary New Zealand are common to other countries, suggesting that universal experiences of women are more strongly reflected in the institutions of sport and leisure than are cultural differences. See, S.

M. Thompson, "Women in Sport: Some Participation Patterns in New Zealand". A paper presented at the Leisure Studies Association International Conference, Sussex University, England, 1984.

4. Currently the new Dictionary of New Zealand Biography is being compiled. It is the firm intention of the editorial staff to redress the imbalance of male over female. There were special problems in finding nineteenth century women they the working parties drawing up prospective biography entries considered suitable. The women didn't seem to be significant in the way men were in their contribution to the making of New Zealand. They weren't whalers or sealers or explorers, they weren't usually run holders or farmers in their own right, or big businessmen or members of the professions or the colonial intelligentia. Moreover, women somehow seemed to leave fewer records than men on which to base their biographies. Fewer mentions in newspapers for example. And many, perhaps most of the nineteenth century women, believed that their sphere of influence was personal, domestic rather than public. D.P. Page, "Finding Our Lost Foremothers", Otago University Radio Cassette - first broadcast 10 April, 1985.

5. Stanley Weitraub's new biography Victoria: An Intimate Biography (New York: Truman Talley/Dutton, 1987) may or may not shed new light on the reign of Queen Victoria. What it does do is to describe "Victoriana", the mass of objects produced during her reign and of more importance Victorian values. To what extent was Victoria, as role model, the traditional woman? In terms of her relationship with Alfred and her year of mourning following his death ("my life as a happy one is ended! The world is gone from me") she fits into the typical mould. Yet this

writer argues that her annual pilgrimmage to Scotland and her attendances at the Braemar Highland Gatherings of the 1840s and 1850s indicated a lady with some interest in the outdoors and sports. As a primary source see Queen Victoria, Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861 (A. Helps editor), London, 1868. Also, S. A. G. M. Crawford, "Scottish Highland Games of the Early Nineteenth Century", Scottish Journal of Physical Education, Vol. 13, No. 4, December 1985, pp. 6-10. In other words can one speculate that the monarch's profile, at least in her younger years, was more "athletically active" than that of the norml upper class/aristocratic woman and that this had its influence on the leisure interests of English middle and upper class women at home and abroad? See, for example, Lady Barker's exploits in this paper.

6. The material contained in this paper needs to be set within a much more clearly defined theoretical framework. The focus is vague and the appraoch is descriptive not analytical. Sources such as the Psychology of Women Quarterly, Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Journal of Social Issues, Sex Roles, Psychological Bulletin, are being reviewed to expand the theoretical thrust of this on-going study. For example, Paul H. Wright's, "Men's Friendship, Women's Friendships and Alleged Inferiority of the Latter", (Sex Roles, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1982, pp. 1-20) explores the dynamics of human friendships and may support this writer's notion that the unique situation of men and women in isolated rural areas of Victorian-New Zealand forged a bond of male-female closeness and weakened the traditional home-bound, maternal stereotype of women. Similarly the sociological significance of "mateship" (intense

male "buddy" relationships) in New Zealand and Austrlia - ably shown - in Peter Weir's classic film Gallipoli - may have its roots in the geographical restricitons of pioneering communities. For example, one community on the Otago Goldfields (New Zealand) in 1862 had 11,500 males and 150 women. See, S. A. G. M. Crawford, A History of Recreation and Sport in Nineteenth Century Otago--New Zealand Ph.D., unpublished thesis, Department of Human Movement Studies, University of Queensland, Australia, 1985, p. 129.

7. This writer has just been awarded a George Mason University research grant and will use this support to carry on his work looking at women, sport and in society in Victorian and Edwardian New Zealand. This research will be supervised by Professor Jock Phillips, Director of the Stout Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand in conjunction with the Alexander Turnbull Library and the National Archives. There is the possibility of unearthing early documentary film to analyse as primary sources. Contemporary studies on women in society employing the medium of film have proved to be fruitful. See Crawford, S. A. G. M., "Old Stereotypes and Vital Pioneers: A Study of the Female Athlete in the Movie Medium". A paper presented at the Southern District of AAHPERD Convention in Birmingham, Alabama--27 February, 1987.

FOOTNOTES

1. G. H. Scholefield (ed.), A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (Wellington, 1940), 2 vols. In the Making of New Zealand series (also published in 1940) of 30 volumes not one is devoted to women. In the volume devoted to "Dress" of 15 sub-sections 11 predominantly are devoted to male dress attire, manners, fashions and so on. The most recent New Zealand reference source supports the view on the dearth of useful material. There are neither sections on sport nor recreation. P. A. Sargison, Victoria's furthest Daughters - A bibliography of published sources for the study of women in New Zealand 1830-1914 (Wellington, 1984), 107 pages.

2. J. Bannerman, unpublished diary, 1849, p. 71, Otago Early Settlers' Museum (hereafter OESM), Dunedin.

3. Ibid.

4. Letters of Sarah Low, unpublished material, 1849, OESM, p. XV.

5. J. McGlashan, unpublished diary, 1853, OESM, entry of 11 July.

6. Mrs Alexander, unpublished diary, 1863, OESM, entry of 19 September.

7. Ibid., entry of 21 September.

8. H. Ritchie, unpublished diary, 1868, OESM, entry of 28 August.

9. Ibid., entry of 11 September. For a detailed classification of ship recreations see, S. A. G. M. Crawford, "Recreation at Sea: Leisure Pursuits on the Otago (New Zealand) Bound Emigrant Ships 1847-1869". International Journal of the Society for Nautical Research (Mariner's Mirror), Vol. 72, No. 3, August 1986, pp. 319-328.

10. I. Anderson and J. McKay, Tales of Pioneer Women (Christchurch: 1940), p. 268. The Short sisters of Bannockburn describe "school-days" in the 1880s beginning with a 5.00 a.m. start cutting lucerne fields. Cromwellian (Magazine of Cromwell District High School, 1977), p. 8.

11. C. Squires, unpublished diary, 1859, OESM p. 17. For young children the tendency was to enjoy "adventures offered by the natural environment, rather than playing traditional games". B. Sutton-Smith, The Folk Games of Children (Los Angeles, 1959), p. 1.

12. Otago Witness, November 1860.

13. Ibid.

14. F. White, Pioneering in South Otago (Christchurch, 1958), p. 150.

15. J. Graham, "Settler Society". In, W.H. Oliver and R. Williams (eds), The Oxford History of New Zealand (Wellington, 1981), p. 133.

16. Lady Barker, Station Amusements in New Zealand (London, 1873), p. 74. There is scarcely a recreation or sport that Lady Barker does not attempt to master. "I do not believe that even in Canada the skating can be better than that which was within our reach in the Malvern Hills Of New Zealand ", p. 58.

17. F.W. Craddock, Golden Canyon (Christchurch 1973), p. 52. 18. Ibid., p. 54.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

21. Otago Daily Times, 13 October, 1873.

22. E. Wallis, A Most Rare Vision (Dunedin, 1972), p. 19. 23. Ibid., p. 32.

24. Ibid.

25. C.M. Johnstone and H. Morton, Dunedin Teachers' College (Dunedin, 1976), p. 32.

26. M. Vicinus, Independent Women: Work and the Community for Single Women, 1850-1920 (Chicago, 1985).

27. E. Ebbett, In True Colonial Fashion (Wellington, 1977), p. 65.

28. Ibid., p. 67.

29. Ibid., p. 65.

30. P. Grimshaw, Woman's Suffrage in New Zealand (Auckland, 1972), p. 10.

31. Ibid., p. 9. One feminist sees the pattern of modern sport in Britain stemming from its dual origins - the Public School cult of "muscular christianity" and the Industrial Revolution. So, it is argued, in common with other institutions sport "was developed for men, and by men". J. Graydon, "But it's more than a game. It's an institution! Feminist Perspectives on Sport". Feminist Review, 13 (1983), 7-8. Again, for New Zealand, the "muscular christianity" impact popularised games playing but played down the masculine and moral nature of sport. Secondly, industrialization in New Zealand never assumed the magnitude of the English model. In colonial New Zealand recreation and sport never became a "self-indulgent festival of masculinity". One anecdote of the 1890s recalls a young girl's primary school sport. Organized coeducational sports took part daily, with boys and girls combining in

rounders and in a non-tackle "tag" type of rugby football. See, E. Hosken, Turn Back the Clock (Wellington, 1968), p. 44.

32. Ebbett, op. cit., p. 69.

33. J. Bathgate, An Illustrated Guide to Dunedin (Dunedin, 1883), p. 35.

34. W.E. Hyslop, Bill Hyslop Remembers: The autobiography of a motorist from horse and buggy and bicycle days (Hastings, 1968), p. 8.

35. See various issues of New Zealand Wheelman 1894-1896. One writer claims that the Atlanta Ladies Cycling Club established in Christchurch in 1892, was the first women's cycling club in the world. J.A. Wood, Victorian New Zealand (Christchurch, 1974), p. 70.

36. S.H. Aronson, "The Sociology of the Bicycle". In, T.E. Lasswell et. al. (eds.), Life in Society (Chicago, 1965), p. 62.

37. New Zealand Wheelman, Vol. 3, No. 49, 28 November 1894.

38. W.P. Reeves, State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand (London, 1902), Vol. 1, p. 137.

39. Aronson, op cit., p. 62.

40. H. Wilson, My First Eighty Years (Hamilton, 1951), p. 154.

41. Ibid., p. 158.

42. Ibid., p. 137.

43. Ibid., p. 150.

44. Wallis, Rare vision, p. 42. Twenty years later the Morris sisters in Australia, despite a conservative education scene, established physical education as an essential component in all-around education. R. Crawford, "The Morris sisters of Melbourne Girls' Grammer School: 1898-1913". A paper presented at the VII Commonwealth and International

Conference, Brisbane, September 1982. In rural New Zealand, diet, climate and the physical nature of the life-style meant that girls in the primary schools were encouraged to throw themselves into games - "romping in all the bounding vigour of perfect health". Cromwell Argus, 2 November 1870.

45. Ibid., p. 43. Wilson popularised active outdoor exercise and ordered the school grounds to remain open one hour after school so that the 8irls might play longer. Principal's Annual Report and Prospectus, 1885, p. 6. From 1885-1891, in his annual school reports, Wilson always made some encouraging remark about the importance of physical education. Principal's Annual Report Prospectus, 1886-1891.

46. R. Bushby and I. Jobling, "Decades of Sport and the Shape of Australian Womanhood". A paper presented at the First National Conference on Women, Sport and Physical Recreation, the University of NSW, Sydney, January 1980, p. 7. Golf, by the turn of the century, rivalled the impact of the bicycle on women. Golf reaffirmed - not - rejected - the expected role of women to be fashionably present. So the golfing capa, flowing skirt, and designer hat made golf an "accepted" activity for women. Thus the official bulletin of the United States Golf Association (December 1899) had a frontspiece depicting a chic female dressed in haute couture - for golf! Pears, the English soap company, in their first "recreational" advertistment using women, showed a beautifully attired lady golfer saying "After a royal game use soap of eq"al fame". See C. Price, The World of Golf (London, 1963), pp. 86 and 122.

47. Grimshaw, op. cit., p. 10.

48. Survey of the Janet McLaren scrapbooks and an interview with her great granddaughter, ELizabeth Lumb, in Dunedin - November 1977. Contemporary research on romance writing and reading points to possible reasons why women like McLaren projected themselves into fiction and identified with historical characters. A substitute for the "nurturance" women were denied in a patriarchal and Calvinistic New Zealand? See the critique of Ms Radway's recent book Reading the Romance. B. Yagoda's feature on "Scholarship", Chronicle of Higher Education, May 22, 1985 pp. 5 and 8.

49. A.R. Grigg, "Shaping a Social Ideology - Puritanism" (Three parts) Radio New Zealand - 14 October 1982. The physical and emotional demands of carrying out these differing roles must have been considerable. "The energy, endurance and adventurousness of most women was satisfied by the conditions of their daily lives." H.M, Simpson, The Women of New Zealand (London, 1962), p. 143. "Manliness and womanliness remained very different concepts". K. E. McCrone, "Play Up! and Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School". Journal of British Studies, XXIII: 2, (1984), 127. This excellent 28 page paper represents a most useful, concise inter-displinary analysis of women, sport and Victorian society.

50. J. Barclay, "An Analysis of Trends in New Zealand Sport, from 1840 to 1900", Unpublished B.A. thesis, Massey University, 1977, p. 57. The influence of scouting was to see the publications in 1908 of Peace Scouting for Girls with sections on hiking, tent-pitching, tracking, knotting, signalling, and self-defence. However, society at large was reluctant to accept equal sports provision for boys and girls

at school. In 1912 the School board (responsible for fiscal policy at the Otago Girls' High School and the Otago Boys' High School) turned down a request for five pounds to rent a hockey ground, but approved a much larger amount to be used for the boys' sport fund. Otago Girls' High School Magazine, 1912, p. 30. However, in the early 1900s a female hockey coach was added to the faculty and various girls' teams took part in local competitions. Wallis, op. cit, p. 64. The six part New Zealand Television Series, Pioneering Women in 1983 while not devoted to women and sport, explored the theme that it may well have been the pioneer women, rather than the men who determined who we are. Certainly women at the turn of the century were the educators and the keepers of the morals. In terms of a moral and attitudinal climate they had an enormously strong influence on the New Zealand character. For example' Ettie Rout (1877-1936), while a feminist and a socialist, had views on health and exercise far advanced for her time and spoke out against the pollution of the rivers. Nurse Sibylla Maude (1862-1935) advocated outdoor camps for tuberculosis patients and founded the District Nursing Association in 1896. She and her younger nursing recruits were able to reach the far flung suburbs in Christchurch by using the bicycle.

51. Societal values and cultural mores were to change in New Zealand. A caption from a post World War I beach comic strip was worded: He: "Phil is only here to show her new costume". She: "Looks as if the costume is only to show Phil". New Zealand Sporting and Dramatic Review, 11 February 1926. By the 1930s a survey of the articles in the New Zealand Woman's Weekly found that several advocated "all over" tanning and that "sun oils" were advertised with swim suits being "so brief" and

the sun so "tempting". G. R. Rowlands, "Advertising and Commercial Promotion of Sport in New Zealand: 1880-1939", Research Essay, Faculty of Physical Education, Otago University, 1985.

52. P.J. Murphy, "Sport and Gender". In, W.M. Leonard, A Sociological Perspective of Sport (Minneapolis, 1984), p. 189.

53. Ibid.

54. C. Crunden, "The Care of the body in the late 19th and 20th Centuries in England". Bulletin of Physical Education, XI: 1, (1975). In March 1884 the publisher of a new magazine on recreation and sport announced that there would be regular contributions by a female athlete. The Athlete and New Zealand Exchange and Mart, 28 March 1884, 2.

55. Ebbett, op. cit., p. 65. The reduced levels of social restriction in colonial New Zealand allowed women to row competitively - such a happening at the Henley Regatta, England would have been unthinkable. See, for example, an inter-provincial race between Auckland and Taranaki women's crews. New Zealand Herald, 19 April, 1897.

56. F. de Faur, The Conquest of Mount Cook (Christchurch, 1977), p. 36. A recent study makes the point that de Faur was one of a number of female mountaineers in New Zealand. Also that, a) mountaineering was a catalyst in the emancipation of women, b) mountaineering costumes and new climbing techniques were an avenue of self-expression for women, c) sex role stereotypes were eroded by the rigours of climbing and the necessities for "team co-operation". P. Lynch, "A History of Women Mountaineers in Victorian New Zealand", Special Study, Faculty of Physical Education, Otago University, 1985. See also, P. Lynch and S. A.

G. M. Crawford, "Scaling the Heights: Women Mountaineers in Victorian New Zealand", New Zealand Journal of Health, PE and Recreation, Vol. 19, No. 3, December 1986, pp. 10-16.

57. Murphy, op. cit, p. 189.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., p. 194.

60. J. Cochrane, A. Hoffman and P. Kincaid, Women in Canadian Life-Sports (Toronto, 1977), p. 17. In Wellington at Te Aro baths there was still segregated swimming in the 1890s. "The hours for ladies were from 9 am to 2 pm and for gentlemen, a red flag was hoisted, and a blue flag for the ladies." L.E. Ward, Early Wellington (Wellington, 1928), p. 282. The sporting ethos of the period was built upon appropriate role behavior. "Sport for boys was to teach them spirit, leadership, loyalty and how to take the initiative in life. Since women were destined only for home life, sport for them could only be seen as of secondary importance, at the most a means by which they could keep physically healthy, with the right proportions." H. King, "The Sexual Politics of Sport: An Australian Perspective". In, R. Cashman and M. McKernan (eds.) Sport in History (St. Lucia, 1979), p. 72. In other words it was appropriate role behavior to support the male. For example, in tennis mixed doubles a female writer observed, "Ladies should try to improve their play and not spoil the sport for men, as they too frequently do". K. Dodd, "Ladies, Lawn Tennis". In, Duke of Beauford (ed.), The Badminton Library Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives, (London, 1897), 4th Edition, p. 314. Nevertheless, within rural New Zealand, there were very real opportunities for outdoor recreation with the nature of

pastoral life. One lady recalled in 1900: "I used to go riding with my uncle every day, well before I was five years old. I'd stand on the back of his saddle with my arms around his neck; I'd even canter with him like that". C. Hunt, Something in the Hills - Yesterday in Central Otago, (Wellington, 1979), p. 132. By the 1920s there was encouragement for women to exercisee. "... too often in their zeal and love of their work, they (women) forgot the recreation, the physical recreation that alone can keep old age at bay and retain a natural vitality and beauty and that only comes from wholesome exercise in the open air." Otago Witness, 20 July 1920. This was but part of the gradual movement within society for women's rights. In 1914, women had become an essential and sometimes respected part of the workforce.

61. New Zealand Graphic (Christmas Issue), 1901.

62. Ibid., (Christmas Issue), 1907. How women have been athletically portrayed in the sphere of commercial advertising warrants sociological investigation. By the mid-1930s: "... Ascot, Goodwood, Cowes and Wimbledon, wherever the sport loving British girl is to be found, the Yardley Lavender greets you". New Zealand Woman's Weekly, 19 November 1936. The advertising promotional compaign that tied into the exploits of New Zealand aviatrix Jean Batten is intriguing. A woman flying in an age of male folk heroes from Charles Lindbergh to Antoine de Saint - Exupery.

63. R. Dalziel, "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in the Nineteenth Century New Zealand". New Zealand Journal of History, 11: 2, (1977), 116. The notion of the colonial environment opening new doors vis a vis the inter-relationship of sport, class and community has

been looked at. See S. A. G. M. Crawford, "Muscles and character are there the first object of necessity': An Overview of Sport and Recreation in a Colonial Setting - Otago, Province, New Zealand", British Journal of Sport History, 2:2, (1985), 109-126.

64. Ibid., p. 115

65. It should be noted that women had the right to vote in Wyoming since 1869 and Utah since 1870. Grimshaw, op. cit., p. 23.

66. Ibid., p. 24.

67. "Winter Sports", Making New Zealand (Wellington, 1940), Vol. 2,. No. 27, p. 30.

68. "Summer Sports", Making New Zealand, 2:26, 20. 69. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

70. Simpson, op. cit, p. 167.

71. Ibid., p. 169. It is of significance that the New Zealand Alpine Club in 1891 unlike its British counter-part , allowed women members from the outset.

72. If one adopts the essential feminist concept of men's power over women and the form of women's resistance then clearly that "resistance" found its outlet in areas of recreation and sport. "Women found ways to resist the suffocating confines of the traditional female role". The Sexual Dynamics of History (London, 1983), p. 5. The London Feminist History Group examining emigrant women in a partriarchal past describe them as "brave and intrepid" and "heroines in their venturesomeness" (p. 86). Such terms could have been applied, in the context of this essay, to the persona of Freda de Faur. Other researchers see the notions of male brutality and female submission as too categorical. Affection and

companionship were critical necessities to survival. E. Shorter, A History of Women's Bodies (New York, 1982). In the rural and outback settings of colonial New Zealand the isolation of the pioneering communities may well have consolidated husband-wife relationships as friends and partners. This was certianly the case for the New Zealand housewife Helen Wilson, discussed earlier in this paper. The "ideal of companionate marriage" and the reality of life in nineteenth-century America is discussed in C. Strickland's, Victorian Domesticity - Families in the Life and Art of Louisa May Alcott (Alabama, 1985), pp. 111-117. The sheer number of adult women in New Zealand (140,000) should be emphasised. They comprised almost half of the total adult population in 1893. Reeves, State Experiments, p. 114. Mature, older and independent women were able to settle and establish themselves in New Zealand and avoid the social stigma of being labelled "spinster". Mary Taylor, a friend of Charlotte Bronte, came out in 1846 to join her brother. "Freed from the social and class restrictions of England, she set up a small shop in Wellington and had a flourishing business". J. Millen, Colonial Tears and Sweat : The Working Class in Nineteenth Century New Zealand (Wellington, 1984), p. 64.

73. One of the earliest forays into the Southern Alps (1871) saw women using ice-axes on a glacier at an altitude of 5,100 feet. M.B. Scott, "Women Climbers of New Zealand", New Zealand Alpine Journal, 10 (1943).

74. Murphy, op. cit., p. 197.

75. See for example Illustrated London News, January 19, 1906, for a description of a new sport for women, football on rollerskates; May 26,

1906, a lithograph of a basketball match ("The finest athletic sport for girls"); July 21, 1906, a full page drawing of "boat polo for ladies".

76. See for example the section on "Sports, Games, and Pastimes" in The Cyclopedia of New Zealand, (Otago and Southland), 4, (Christchurch, 1905), pp. 203-209. The actual numbers of women registered with formal sporting associations was not large. "The association gymnastic has two ladies' clubs affiliated to it, and good work is being done by the lady gymnasts, some of whom are exceedingly clever". In one township, of the 460 members of the amateur swimming club, only sixty were women. Volume 3 (on Canterbury province) indicates that there were not significant regional variations within New Zealand although it was noted that the Avon rowing Club had a "ladies" dressing room (p. 215); in Volume 2 (Auckland province) there was the landmark of a woman appearing in the elected officials listed for a recreational association. Miss Statham, as assistant secretary of the Auckland Cycle Roads League (p. 246); in Volume 1 (Wellington district) there was a description of the Wellington Golf Club and an announcement that "the Mirimar ladies succeeded in defeating the Hutt ladies in their first match in 1895", p. 429.

77. M. Moran, "A Century Beginning: An Oral History of Leisure and Sporting Activities in Otago from 1895 to 1925", Research Essay, Faculty of Physical Education, Otago University, 1985, p. 25.

78. New Zealand Wheelman, Vol. 3, No. 62, July 1895.